Chapter 12 Internationalism and Global Issues

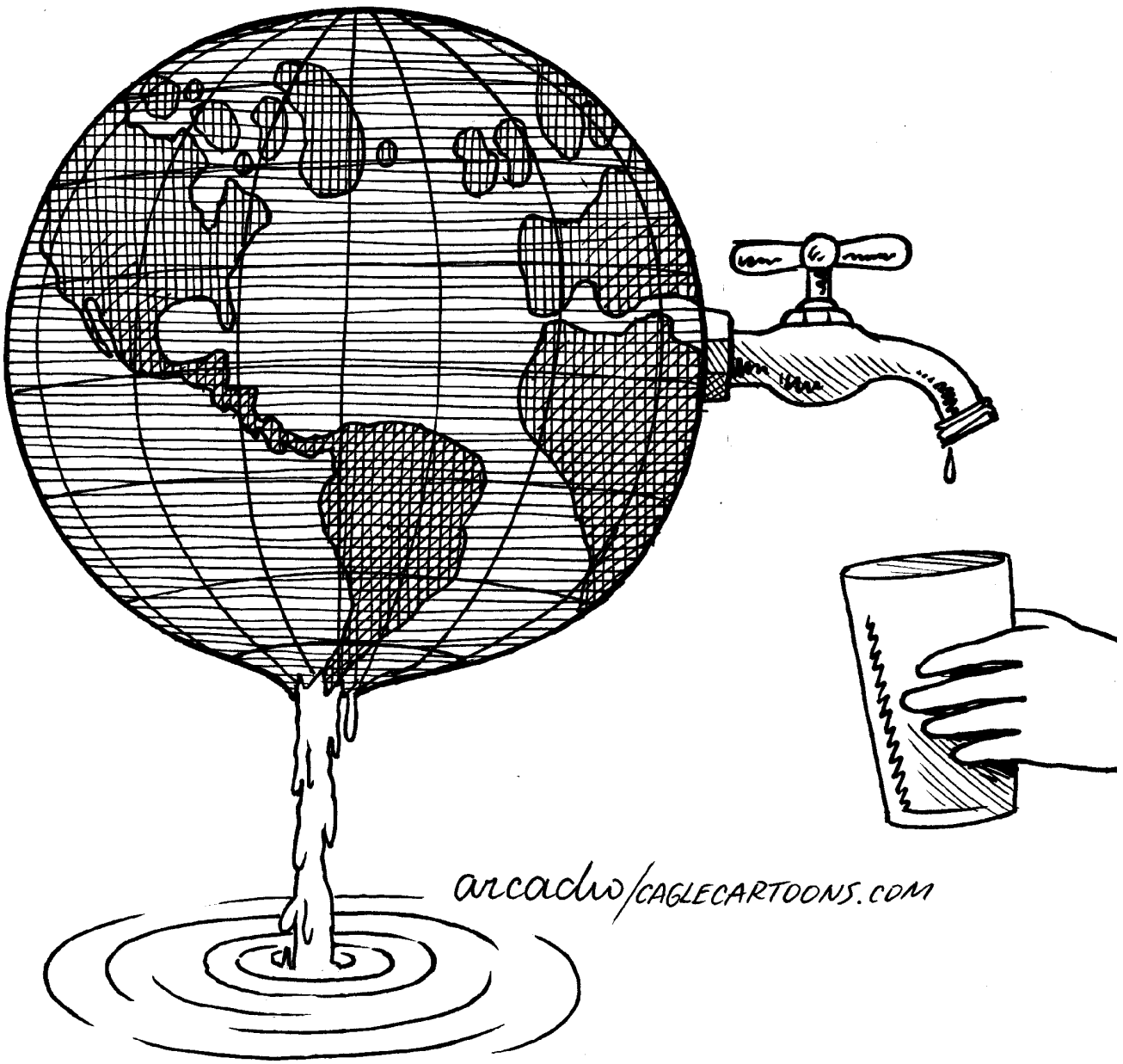


Figure 12-1 This cartoon by Arcadio Esquivel was published in the Panamanian newspaper *La Prensa* and comments on predictions that the world's supply of fresh, clean water is dwindling.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent can internationalism effectively address contemporary global issues?

CANADA HAS MORE FRESH, clean water than any other country on Earth — and many Canadians take access to water for granted. They think nothing of taking long showers, watering lawns, and washing cars. The average Canadian uses about 335 litres of water a day, much more than people in most other countries. The French, for example, use only about 150 litres a day.

At the same time, many people in the world have little or no access to clean drinking water. The cause may be geography, poverty, population growth, or conflict — but this lack of water can be deadly. People may die.

Many internationalists argue that water is a basic human need and that the earth's resources, especially water, belong to everyone and should be shared by countries with abundant clean water. Some even predict that access to clean water will become the next major source of conflict in the world.

Examine the cartoon on the preceding page, then respond to the following questions:

- What is the message of the cartoon?
- Is water a resource like oil? Should private corporations be able to take water and sell it wherever there is a demand?
- Should Canada's water be reserved for Canadians, or are water-rich countries like Canada obligated to share their water with other countries?
- Why might some people predict that unequal access to clean water will become a source of conflict?

KEY TERMS

absolute poverty

odious debt

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which internationalism can effectively address contemporary global issues:

- What are some contemporary global issues?
- How has internationalism been used to address contemporary global issues?
- Is internationalism always the most effective way of addressing contemporary global issues?

My Journal on Nationalism

Review your journal entries so far. Think about access to water and record your thoughts on whether an internationalist approach is required to avoid conflict over water. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

What are some contemporary global issues?

Increasing globalization has cast a worldwide spotlight on issues that might, at one time, have concerned only a limited number of people. When a giant tsunami hit Southeast Asia in 2004, for example, news of the destruction started flashing around the world in minutes. Events like this show that the world's people are more connected than ever. This connectedness has fostered an awareness that issues such as climate change, the spread of disease, and access to water affect everyone.

Climate Change

Ocean currents and prevailing winds pay no attention to boundaries. This means that pollution generated in one country can be carried elsewhere — and the effects of pollution can be felt well beyond a country's borders.

Examine the map in Figure 12-3. Does this map reinforce the need for an international approach to resolving the challenges of climate change? Explain your response.

The Kyoto Protocol, which was proposed in 1997, is an international attempt to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions that are a key contributor to global climate change. Developed countries that signed this protocol, including Canada, agreed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 20 per cent by the year 2020. But Canada has since announced that it will not meet its Kyoto targets –– largely because estimates have suggested that doing so could cost the economy $51 billion.

To some people, this backing away from Kyoto suggests that Canada will continue to be one of the worst polluters among the world's developed countries. A Simon Fraser University study published in 2005 by the David Suzuki Foundation examined the environmental records of the 30 countries that belong to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Some of the indicators that resulted in Canada's overall low ranking of 28th are shown in Figure 12-2. Only Belgium and the United States ranked lower than Canada.

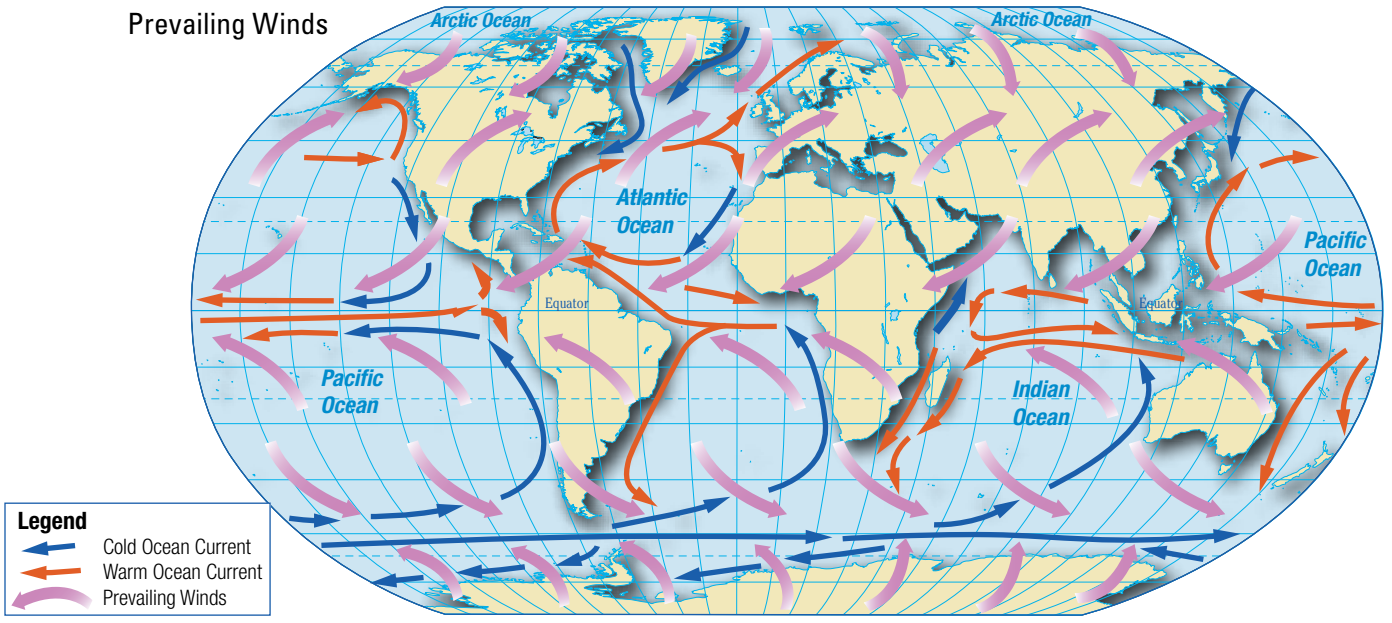
Figure 12-2 Canada's Pollution Record among OECD Members — Some Key Indicators*

Indicator	Canada's Rank
Greenhouse gas emissions	26th of 29
Energy consumption	28th of 30
Carbon monoxide generated	28th of 28
Water consumption	29th of 30
Nuclear waste generated	30th of 30
Average distance travelled by road vehicles	29th of 30

* Because reliable data were not available in all categories, not all rankings are out of 30.

Source: Sustainable Planning Research Group, Simon Fraser University, The Maple Leaf in the OECD: Comparing Progress toward Sustainability

Figure 12-3 World Ocean Currents and Prevailing Winds



The Spread of Disease

The spread of deadly diseases is also a contemporary global issue, though it is not a new one. Throughout history, diseases have devastated various peoples. In the 14th century, the Black Death spread across Asia, Europe, and Africa, killing up to 125 million people. This notorious plague is still considered the deadliest epidemic ever.

And when World War I ended in 1918, soldiers returning from the trenches of France and Belgium brought a killer flu virus with them. Some historians estimate that this virus killed as many as 50 million people around the world, including more than 50 000 Canadians.

In the past, diseases often took a long time to spread from place to place, but this is not the case today. Just as goods and people can now move quickly and easily around the world, so can diseases — and this increases the potential danger. Between November 2002 and July 2003, for example, SARS spread to 26 countries and killed nearly 800 people.

Every year, one billion people travel by plane and in so doing provide viral hitchhikers [with] unprecedented opportunities. In the 19th century, steam ships took a couple of months to spread trouble; now it can be done in less than 12 hours. The concentration of people in megacities also guarantees rapid dispersion [of viruses].

— Andrew Nikiforuk, journalist and author of Pandemonium*, 2006*

International Efforts to Stop the Spread of Disease

The World Health Organization, a United Nations agency, is at the centre of international efforts to identify, monitor, and control health threats, including deadly diseases. During the SARS epidemic, for example, WHO officials helped co-ordinate measures that limited the spread of this disease and prevented the outbreak from infecting more people.

CheckBack

You read about SARS and the World Health Organization in Chapters 9 and 11.

According to the WHO, the epidemic of 1918 was the last major influenza pandemic, though severe flu outbreaks also occurred in 1957 and 1968. A pandemic is an epidemic that affects many people over a large geographic area.

On the basis of past experience, the WHO expects three or four flu pandemics to occur every 100 years. As a result, WHO officials have warned that the arrival of the next pandemic, which could kill as many as seven million people, is only a matter of time.

In response to this threat, the WHO has set up the Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network. This international group links health organizations in various countries, plans and co-ordinates international responses, and ensures that technical help is ready to swing into action when an outbreak occurs.

Figure 12-4 Fear gripped many Canadian communities during the 1918 flu epidemic. Many people, such as these telephone operators in High River, wore masks to try to shield themselves against infection.

Is an international organization such as the WHO essential to controlling 21st-century pandemics — or should countries be left alone to take unilateral action that is in their own national interest?

Avian Influenza

Figure 12-5 When a strain of bird flu was found at free-range poultry farms in British Columbia, officials with the Canadian Food Inspection Agency swung into action. Even though the flu was not the deadly H5N1 strain, farms were quarantined, millions of domestic birds were slaughtered, and health officials took precautions to keep health workers and the public safe.

WHO officials have predicted that avian influenza, or bird flu, is likely to cause the next deadly pandemic. Bird flu is spread by infected birds that carry the disease wherever they fly. Though many varieties of bird flu exist, only one — the H5N1 strain — has so far infected human beings.

The H5N1 strain, which is similar to the virus that killed so many in 1918, first appeared in poultry in Hong Kong in 1997. Eighteen people who had been in close contact with the infected birds caught the disease, and six died. To contain the outbreak, health officials ordered the slaughter of Hong Kong's entire domestic poultry population, about 1.5 million birds.

Since then, outbreaks of the H5N1 strain have been reported in other Asian countries and as far west as Turkey, Greece, and Romania. In every case, health officials limited the outbreak, though the death rate among people who contracted the disease was high.

Still, some medical experts believe that the WHO's warnings about a bird flu pandemic are alarmist. Richard Schabas, for example, is a former chief medical officer of health for Ontario. Referring to a WHO warning in 2007, Schabas told CBC News: "This is the third time the WHO has told us we were on the brink of an avian influenza pandemic. They said it in 1997 and they were wrong. They said it a year ago and they were wrong."

Is it fair to label as "alarmist" the WHO's predictions of a bird flu pandemic? Explain your response.

It's a very important question: do you get to have this water just because you live [in Canada], just because your parents were born here or whatever, and other people don't get water just because they live somewhere where there isn't any? How fair is that? Not fair.

— Maude Barlow, chair of the Council of Canadians and co-founder of the Blue Planet Project, 2007

Access to Water

Estimates suggest that Canada has up to 20 per cent of the world's fresh water but just 0.5 per cent of the world's population. As a result, most Canadians have access to plenty of clean water.

But most people in the world do not. In 2006, the United Nations reported that 1.1 billion people had inadequate access to water and more than 2.5 billion had inadequate access to sanitation. In addition, nearly 2 million children died of diseases caused by unclean water and poor sanitation.

Because access to clean water is an important health issue, some people argue that water-rich countries like Canada should share their water, and in 2002, a United Nations committee declared that access to clean water is a fundamental human right. Canada was the only country to oppose this resolution.

Control over Water

Countries control the water within their borders and make their own decisions about how to use it. These decisions may include selling water, diverting water to generate hydroelectric power, and making rules about dumping sewage into fresh water. But as the world's supply of fresh water declines, water-rich countries are expected to face increased international pressure to share this resource.

The Canadian government discourages bulk water exports, but environmentalists and others fear that this policy may be challenged by the World Trade Organization and the terms of the North American Free Trade Agreement. In early 2008, the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies called on the federal government to introduce strict new laws barring the transfer of water out of the country. "This may be one of the last opportunities for Canada to effectively control its water, to have sovereign control over its water," said Adèle Hurley, director of the centre's program on water issues.

Supporters of this approach say that water is a sovereignty issue and that Canada must act to protect its national interest in this area. But others believe that Canada is trying to tighten control over its water at a time when world water shortages are increasing.

If water were declared an international resource that is owned by all humanity, how would nation-states be affected?

Figure 12-6 The recently built Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River in China is the world's largest dam. It was built to generate electricity, store water for irrigating crops, control floods, and improve inland navigation. Some critics say that the dam will increase the accumulation of pollutants and interfere with the quality and amount of water flowing into the ocean.

Figure 12-7 The Oldman River Dam, located on the Oldman River near Pincher Creek, Alberta, was built to generate electricity and supply irrigation water to reduce the severity of droughts in the area. But the project became controversial when it was opposed by members of the Piikani Nation and the Friends of the Oldman River Society, an environmental group. Despite this opposition, the project went ahead and the dam was completed in 1992.

Reflect and Respond

In March 2004, columnist Wendy R. Holm of the magazine *Country Life in BC* wrote: "Whether you love the NAFTA or hate the NAFTA is not the point. Whether you support or oppose water exports is not the point. The point is sovereignty. Canada must have absolute discretion over the management of her water resources. In perpetuity."

With a partner, prepare point-form notes you could use as the basis of a written response supporting or opposing Holm's position.

How has internationalism been used to address contemporary global issues?

How can it be in a country's national interest to try to solve problems in other countries?

Suppose you wanted to take a course that is offered only at a school outside your neighbourhood. Would you make the decision to change schools on your own, or would you involve your family? What factors would influence who to involve in your decision?

Some issues, such as which school you attend, can be resolved individually or as a family, but other issues are too complex for individuals to handle on their own. In fact, many contemporary global issues are so complex that even national governments are unable to deal with them. This is why many countries choose to work with the international community to tackle challenges such as poverty, hunger, disease, debt, climate change, human rights, and conflict.

Web Connection

To find out more about the world's least developed countries and the percentage of the population that lives on less than a dollar a day, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Internationalism and Poverty

Poverty often causes other problems, such as hunger, disease, and conflict. In 2006, the World Bank estimated that more than a billion of the world's 6.65 billion people live in absolute poverty. The United Nations defines **absolute poverty** as a "condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services."

Oxfam, an international NGO, has identified the following causes of poverty:

- Lack of education. In many countries, schools charge fees that are beyond the means of many families. People who have not received a basic education have trouble finding jobs and may become locked into a cycle of poverty.
- Lack of access to resources. Millions of farmers do not have the resources — land, water, credit, and access to markets — needed to survive.
- Conflict and war. People in various countries have been displaced by war. People who have fled their homes often find it impossible to work and earn money.
- Trade rules. Farmers, labourers, and factory workers can be affected by international trade rules, such as high tariffs and bans on certain imports. These rules can interfere with people's ability to sell their goods and services.
- Discrimination. Within countries, members of minority groups often have limited access to jobs, resources, and government help.

Figure 12-8 This child is helping his parents locate recyclable material in a garbage dump in southwestern China. Estimates suggest that more than 85 million Chinese people live in absolute poverty. Should the level of poverty in China be an international concern?

In your own words, explain the meaning of "cycle of poverty," which appears in the first bullet. If necessary, create a diagram to make your ideas clear.

Internationalism and Hunger

Hunger, malnutrition, and starvation are often direct results of poverty. In his book *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*, Richard Howard Robbins wrote, "The great dilemma is how to create economic, social, and political conditions to ensure that everyone has access to food or the means to acquire it."

In recent decades, the dilemma identified by Robbins has become the focus of international efforts. In November 1996, for example, the United Nations organized the first World Food Summit. Delegates from 185 countries and the European Community met in Rome and concluded this summit with a vow to reduce by half the number of hungry people in the world. They set 2015 as the target date for achieving this goal.

This goal was reinforced in 2000, when the United Nations identified eradicating extreme hunger and poverty as one of its millennium development goals. Though some progress has been made, change is happening very slowly — and experts predict that efforts will likely fall well short of targets.

Non-governmental organizations also act internationally to reduce hunger and eliminate its causes. The VERITAS Foundation, for example, is an American-based NGO dedicated to fighting child hunger, destitution, and illiteracy on a local, national, and global scale. In 2007, this organization raised more than $100 000 in response to UNICEF's urgent appeal for food, shelter, and books for children in Afghanistan.

Hunger Free World, an NGO based in Japan, fights hunger by delivering aid and providing teachers and educational programs that promote self-sufficiency. One of its projects involves establishing links between high schools in Japan and high schools in developing countries.

Identify two or three important steps Canadians could take to help eliminate poverty and hunger in the world. For each step, explain whether individual, group, or government involvement is necessary to carry it out.

To give money is an easy matter in any man's power. But to decide to whom to give it, and how much and when, and for what purpose and how, is neither in every man's power nor an easy matter. Hence it is that such excellence is rare, praiseworthy, and noble.

— Aristotle, Greek philosopher, 4th century BCE

FYI
World Hunger by the Numbers
Frequency of starvation deaths: 1 every 4 seconds
Number of children who die of starvation: 6.57 million a year
Number of people who are chronically hungry: 850 million (1 in 7)

Hunger in Canada

Developing countries are not the only ones where hunger is a problem. Canada, for example, is one of the world's wealthiest countries. Its booming economy has led to a decline in the percentage of Canadians who live in poverty. Despite this decline, experts estimate that about 11 per cent of Canadians still live below the poverty line. Between 1989 and 2007, for example, the number of people using food banks increased by 91 per cent, and in March 2007 alone, more than 720 000 people relied on food banks to feed themselves and their families.

If 11 per cent of Canadians live in poverty, should Canadians focus on solving their own problem before worrying about poverty in the rest of the world?

Web Connection
To find out more about international efforts to eradicate hunger, go to this web site and follow the links.
www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Internationalism and Disease

Just as poverty contributes to hunger and malnutrition, so it also contributes to disease. Malnourished people cannot fight disease as effectively, and people who are poor often have neither the education necessary to understand disease prevention nor the money to buy medicines. In addition, their governments often cannot afford to supply citizens with the kind of health care that many Canadians take for granted.

HIV and AIDS in Africa

In developed countries such as Canada, a diagnosis of AIDS was once considered a death sentence. This is no longer the case, as science has developed drugs that enable people with the virus to survive. In addition, preventive strategies have helped slow the spread of the disease. In 2006, only about 0.3 per cent of Canadians had AIDS.

Things are different in developing countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, about 1.6 million people died of AIDS in 2007 and an estimated 22.5 million were living with the virus. Few Africans with AIDS can afford treatment, and many countries lack the medical resources to cope with what has become a pandemic.

In response, the United Nations appointed Canadian politician and diplomat Stephen Lewis special envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa, a post he held until 2006. Lewis believes that AIDS and poverty are the most significant threats to the world today.

"Disease breeds poverty because it completely destroys the income of a family and poverty breeds disease because nobody has anything to eat, and immune systems grind down," Lewis told an interviewer. "So the interlinking of poverty and disease is probably the major issue on the planet. The most distinct manifestation of the issue is HIV and AIDS because you can't possibly think of anything where 25 million people have already died and 40 million people are infected."

Lewis's efforts, as well as those of the World Health Organization, individuals, groups, and governments, have highlighted the challenge of HIV/AIDS in Africa and elsewhere. At the UN World Summit in 2005, for example, leaders pledged to achieve universal access to treatment by 2010.

As a step toward this goal, governments have relaxed rules so that generic drug companies can make cheaper AIDS drugs and distribute them in developing countries. Non-governmental organizations such as the Stephen Lewis Foundation, the Gates Foundation, and the Clinton Foundation have launched awareness, prevention, and treatment programs.

Though these measures have helped, they have not solved the problem. At the end of 2006, only about 28 per cent of the people who needed treatment for AIDS were receiving it.

VOICES

One of the worst things about AIDS is that it just never stops — you scramble to find the money to get medical treatment for a sister or a husband who falls sick, and then it's not enough and that person dies and you go into debt to pay for the funeral, and then you have a couple more orphans to try to find school fees for and you don't get a crop in the ground because you're dealing with all this, and then there's no food and you can't go to the city to look for work because you're nursing someone else. There is no respite.

— Stephanie Nolen, Canadian journalist and author, 2006

Web Connection

To learn more about efforts to combat AIDS in Africa, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 12-9 These children at a hospital in Pretoria, South Africa, either contracted AIDS from their parents or are at risk of developing the disease. They are among an estimated 11 million African youngsters who were orphaned when their parents died of AIDS.

Internationalism and Debt

Suppose you earn $3000 a month — but your expenses, including loan payments, total $4000 a month. What would your financial position be at the end of a year?

The same thing can happen to countries. Jamaica, for example, borrowed heavily from private banks, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. The Jamaican government believed it could repay these loans as the economy grew and tax revenues increased.

But the economy did not perform as expected, and making payments became difficult. Nearly half Jamaica's tax revenue went to pay interest on the loans. In addition, conditions attached to the World Bank and IMF loans required the country to reduce spending by cutting services provided to citizens.

Other developing countries face similar problems. Commenting on the IMF's record, economist Lester Thurow wrote, "Historically, the IMF has been very good at restoring financial stability (its primary job) but horrible at restoring domestic prosperity (its secondary job)."

When the World Bank and the IMF lend money to a country, should they have the right to dictate how that country manages its national budget?

Web Connection

To find out more about how debt relief has helped countries in Africa, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Odious Debt

In 1927, the Soviet thinker Alexander Sack coined the term **odious debt**. Sack wrote, "If a despotic power incurs a debt not for the needs or in the interest of the State, but to strengthen its despotic regime . . . this debt is odious." Sack said that these debts are owed by the regime, not the people of the country — and the people should not be required to repay them if the regime falls.

Probe International, an NGO that monitors Canada's delivery of foreign aid, uses Sack's term to describe debts that meet the following criteria:

- The debt was incurred without the consent of the people of the state.
- The debt did not benefit the people of that state.
- The lender was aware of these two conditions.

Organizations such as Probe International, as well as many governments, believe that countries should not be forced to repay odious debts. But other people, such as economist William Easterly, disagree. "Despite its overwhelming popularity among policymakers and the public, debt relief is a bad deal for the world's poor," Easterly wrote. "By transferring scarce resources to corrupt governments with proven track records of misusing aid, debt forgiveness might only aggravate poverty among the world's most vulnerable populations."

In response to pressure, some wealthy countries have begun forgiving loans they have made to developing countries. They believe that this relief will improve developing countries' chances of achieving economic stability.

With a partner, decide whether you agree with Probe International's or William Easterly's position on repaying odious debt. Explain how you arrived at your judgment.

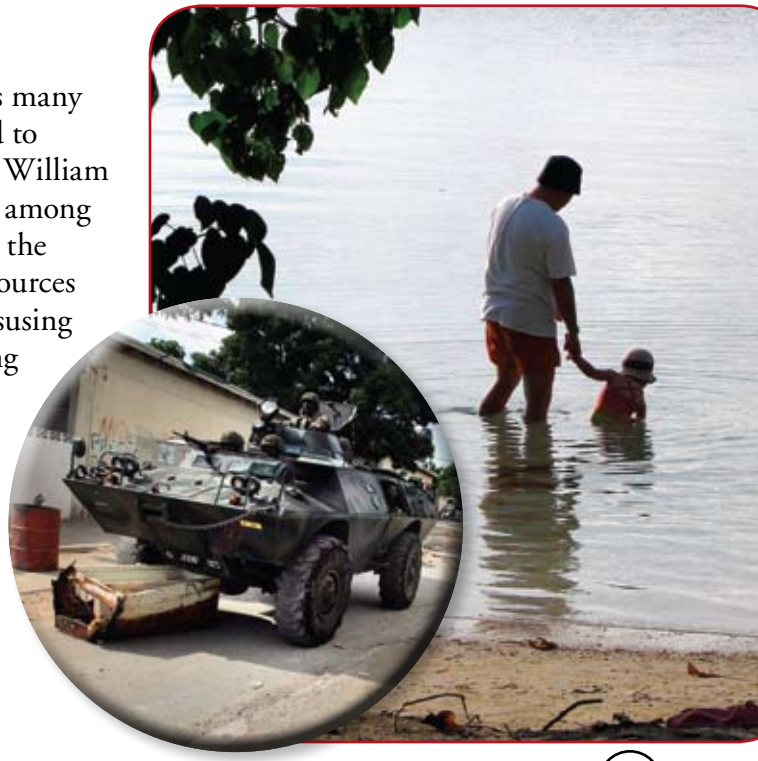


Figure 12-10 Jamaica's beaches are a popular destination for tourists like those in the top photograph. These tourists are unlikely to visit the slums of Kingston, Jamaica's capital. There, poverty has sparked violence, and army vehicles like those in the bottom photograph often patrol the streets.

Internationalism and Climate Change

FYI

The Arctic ice cap is melting much faster than predicted — about 30 years ahead of forecasts. If melting continues at current rates, the Arctic Ocean could be nearly free of summer ice by 2020. This melting would speed up the pace of global climate change.

Climate change may be the most pressing environmental issue of the 21st century. A combination of factors contribute to climate change. High energy use in North America, for example, creates the greenhouse gas emissions that are a major contributor to climate change. In South America, cutting down tropical rainforests to make room for farming, ranching, and mining destroys trees that absorb carbon dioxide and help reduce the effects of climate change.

These factors — and others — contribute to the melting of the polar ice caps. Many scientists believe that this melting will increase the pace of climate change and cause destructive flooding along the coasts of all continents. The international community acknowledges that climate change affects everyone and has begun to work together to introduce measures to slow its pace.

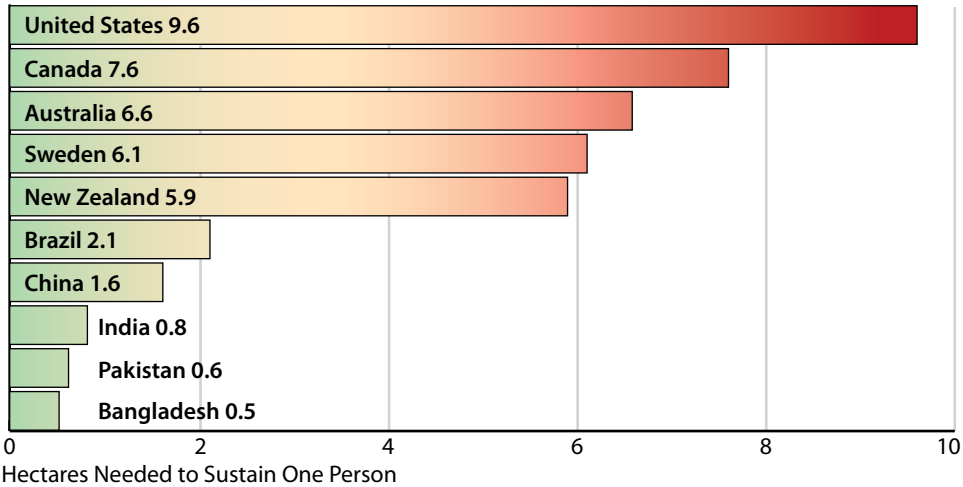
In 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment established the United Nations Environment Programme to provide leadership in dealing with environmental issues. This international organization works with businesses, governments, independent scientists, and local communities to promote partnerships to establish and enhance sustainable products, procedures, and development.

The Kyoto Protocol is another international attempt to deal with climate change. Developed countries that signed the protocol agreed to reduce their domestic production of greenhouse gases to meet specific targets, but no specific targets were set for developing countries, such as China and India.

Some opponents of Kyoto believe that the failure to hold developing countries to the same standards as developed countries was unfair. Others emphasized the economic costs of meeting the Kyoto targets. John Howard, who was prime minister of Australia at the time, argued that meeting the Kyoto goals would place Australia at a disadvantage because its businesses and industries compete with those of China and India, which are not required to meet the same emission standards. Howard believed that Australian jobs would be lost as industries struggled to cut emissions.

Figure 12-11 This cartoon by artist Bill Greenhead sends a strong environmental message. What is the message? If everyone shares this planet, should all countries not take equal responsibility for preventing climate change?

Figure 12-12 Ecological Footprint of Selected Countries, 2003



Canada and the United States voiced similar objections. The U.S. and Australia refused to endorse the protocol. And although Canada signed the agreement, Prime Minister Stephen Harper rejected it when he was elected in 2006. The difficulty of persuading countries to agree to the Kyoto Protocol shows how hard it can be to achieve international agreement and co-operation, even when countries agree that an issue is extremely important.

Examine the data in the graph in Figure 12-12. Does this graph support arguments that developing countries such as India and China should not be required to meet the same Kyoto standards as developed countries such as the United States and Canada? Explain your response.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Sheila Watt-Cloutier
Defending the Right to Be Cold

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When Sheila Watt-Cloutier was growing up in Kuujjuaq, a community on the Koksoak River in northern Québec, she and her friends never wore shorts and T-shirts in summer. It was just too cold.

But things have changed. Many summer days are now so warm that Kuujjuaq residents often go down to the river to cool off.

Watt-Cloutier does not view this as an improvement. She believes that the Inuit have the right to be cold — and she has devoted her life to defending this right by raising awareness of climate change.

After attending McGill University, Watt-Cloutier's work focused on health, social, and youth issues — and this led to involvement in regional, national, and international Inuit organizations. She served as chair of the Canadian Inuit Circumpolar Council and later as chair of the international body.

In her work with the ICC, she helped negotiate a ban on the use of toxic chemicals. These chemicals have polluted the Arctic food chain and accumulated in the bodies of Inuit. The breast milk of many Inuit mothers, for example, is so contaminated that they have been advised either not to breastfeed or not to eat meat killed in the hunt.

The Inuit are on the land every day, and for years, they have been noticing changes. Ice forms later in the year and breaks up earlier. Traditional winter and summer travel routes have changed because the ice pack is different. And animals such as polar bear, caribou, and seals, which the Inuit rely on, have changed their habits.

Figure 12-13 Environmental activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier has won many awards, including a National Aboriginal Achievement Award, the Governor General's Northern Medal, and the United Nations' Mahbub ul Haq Award for Human Development. In 2007, she was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Watt-Cloutier believes that these changes are linked to changes that are happening elsewhere — and that her people are the early warning system for the rest of the world. "Connectivity is going to be the key to addressing these issues, like contaminants and climate change," she told an interviewer for *Grist*, an online environmental magazine. "They're not just about the contaminants on your plate. They're not just about the ice depleting. They're about the issue of humanity. What we do every day — whether you live in Mexico, the United States, Russia, China . . . can have a very negative impact on an entire way of life for an entire people far away from that source."

Explorations

1. How do Sheila Watt-Cloutier's words demonstrate the importance of an international approach to resolving environmental issues? Do you agree with her?
2. Watt-Cloutier shows that the actions of one person can matter, even when dealing with global issues. Identify one action you could take to have a positive effect on reducing global climate change and explain the effects of your action.

Internationalism and Human Rights

There is a known crisis in Myanmar and it degrades humanity as a whole when the international community ignores it. We must address the lack of international interest, access and information — and recognize that these factors are interrelated.

— Sara Brooks, development specialist, in the Human Rights Tribune, *2006*

After the horror of the World War II Holocaust, the international community recognized the importance of working together to prevent similar abuses from happening again. As a result, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This document set out rights and freedoms that everyone is entitled to.

Why would listing specific universal human rights, such as "life, liberty, and security of person," be considered an important step in limiting future abuses?

When a country violates the rights of its own citizens or the citizens of another nation-state, the UN can take action against the violator. But political alliances come into play, and achieving consensus on the actions to take — and even whether violations have occurred — is not easy.

Before the UN can take action, all five permanent members of the UN Security Council — China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States — must agree. A majority of other Security Council members must also agree. If even one permanent member vetoes — rejects — a proposal, the UN cannot act.

Figure 12-14 Myanmar (formerly Burma)

Human Rights in Myanmar

In 2007, people in Myanmar, which has been under military rule since 1962, began a series of peaceful protests to demand a greater say in how their country is run. Buddhist monks, who are widely respected for their moral leadership, led the demonstrations.

The government responded by ordering the army to fire on the unarmed protestors. Thousands of people were killed, and thousands of monks were arrested and have not been seen since.

When images of the brutal crackdown reached the world via cellphones and the Internet, the UN Security Council met to debate a resolution calling on Myanmar to release all political prisoners, begin dialogue, and stop abusing people's human rights. China and Russia vetoed the proposal, arguing that the events in Myanmar posed no threat to international peace and security. As a result, the UN took no action.

Does the UN's failure to take action to help the people of Myanmar suggest that it is as ineffective as the League of Nations, which you read about in Chapter 6?

Internationalism and Conflict

One of the chief goals of the United Nations and other international organizations is to help countries work together to ensure peace and security in the world. But issues affecting peace and security are often complex and not easily resolved. As a result, the world community often struggles to chart an effective course of action.

Conflict in Darfur

The conflict in the Darfur region of western Sudan shows how complex causes can spark violence and make maintaining peace difficult. About 60 per cent of Darfuris are farmers, and most are black people. Many of the rest are nomadic or semi-nomadic herders whose background is largely Arabic. In recent decades, the region has been plagued by droughts. As the countryside became more arid, the two groups began competing for land.

This competition turned violent in March 2003, when the Sudan Liberation Army and other rebel groups began attacking government targets in Darfur. The SLA claimed that Sudan's government, which is dominated by Arabs, favoured Arabs over black farmers. Since then, a brutal civil war has raged. Government-backed troops and members of Arabic Janjaweed militias have been accused of genocide for systematically killing black Sudanese peoples. By 2007, an estimated 200 000 people had been killed and about 2.5 million had fled their homes.

The UN tried negotiating with the Sudanese government, and the Security Council imposed economic sanctions on the country. In addition, the International Criminal Court began to investigate war crimes and issued arrest warrants for a government minister and a Janjaweed leader. Despite these actions, the violence continued.

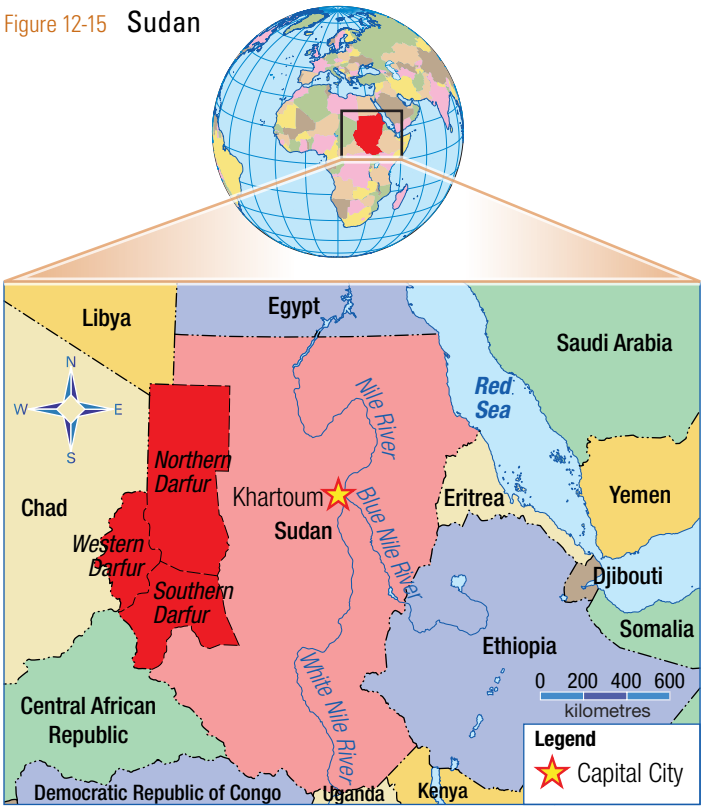
In 2004, the African Union — an organization made up of countries in Africa — sent peacekeepers to Darfur, but this force was too small to be effective. After intense negotiations, the Sudanese government agreed to allow a joint force of UN and African peacekeepers into the country in 2008.

VOICES

Almost invariably, we discuss Darfur in a convenient military and political shorthand — an ethnic conflict pitting Arab militias against black rebels and farmers. Look to its roots, though, and you discover a more complex dynamic. Amid the diverse social and political causes, the Darfur conflict began as an ecological crisis, arising at least in part from climate change.

— Ban Ki-moon, UN secretary-general, 2007

Figure 12-15 Sudan



Reflect and Respond

With a partner, create a rating system that includes criteria for judging the success of international efforts to combat poverty, hunger, disease, debt, climate change, human rights, and conflict. Then use your system to create a report card that rates the success of internationalism. Include a statement that predicts the future of internationalism.

Communicating Effectively to Express a Point of View

Figure 12-16 Peter Mansbridge has anchored *The National*, CBC's flagship newscast, since 1988. Watch a national news broadcast on a Canadian network and pay careful attention to the pace at which the announcers speak.

Making oral presentations is common not only in school but also in business, government, clubs, churches, and volunteer groups. A classroom presentation may involve one or more speakers, and it may take several forms.

Learning to effectively express a point of view is an important skill. The following steps can help you practise this skill.

Steps to Communicating Effectively to Express a Point of View

Step 1: Select a topic and format

With your partner, return to the report card you created for "Reflect and Respond" on page 285 of *Exploring Nationalism* and select one topic (e.g., poverty, hunger, disease, debt, climate change, human rights, or conflict). This topic will become the focus of a two-minute presentation that expresses and justifies your evaluation of the success of international efforts in the area you have chosen.

Decide on a format for your presentation. You may choose to make a speech, use computer presentation software, create a video, or combine several of these formats — and others that you may prefer.

Step 2: Conduct research

With your partner, review the material on your topic in *Exploring Nationalism* and conduct additional research to expand your knowledge. Record the details of all sources you consult.

Step 3: Prepare your presentation

Because you cannot possibly cover everything on the topic in two minutes, carefully select the details you will emphasize to achieve the maximum impact and to effectively convey your informed opinion.

- Develop an introduction, supporting details, and a conclusion.
- Decide how you and your partner will work together to present your evaluation.
- Prepare a list of equipment you will need (e.g., an overhead projector), arrange to have it on hand, and make sure you know how to operate it.
- Prepare answers for questions you think your classmates may ask.
- Save research material you do not plan to use in the presentation. This may come in handy when classmates ask questions.

Step 4: Rehearse your presentation

With your partner, practise your presentation. As you rehearse, coach each other, using the checklist on this page as a guide. Your classmates will use the same checklist to evaluate your presentation skills.

Step 5: Make your presentation

Present your views and answer questions posed by your classmates. When your classmates make their presentations, use the checklist like the one on this page to evaluate their skills.

Presentation Dos and Don'ts

Skill	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
Speaking Skills			
• Varied tone of voice and emphasized important points			
• Spoke clearly (could be heard by everyone)			
• Paused at end of sentences and didn't rush			
• Pronounced terms without stumbling			
• Was prepared to answer questions from audience			
Body Language			
• Faced the audience			
• Stood straight and didn't lean on podium or table			
• Spoke to audience rather than reading from notes			
• Used gestures effectively rather than fidgeting			
• Made eye contact with various audience members			
Group Skills			
• Co-ordinated speaking role with partner			
• Shared speaking load with partner			
Use of Audiovisual Aids			
• Used well-designed, easy-to-read materials			
• Arranged equipment so audience could see easily			
• Knew how to use equipment			

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will have many opportunities to express a point of view — and you can use the skills you have practised to do this effectively. These skills are important not only in school but also in many other situations.

Is internationalism always the most effective way of addressing contemporary global issues?

Web Connection

To learn more about the UN's millennium development goals and their current status, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

In 2000, the UN established eight international targets — its millennium development goals. These goals, which were to be achieved by 2015, included reducing poverty by 50 per cent, ensuring that all children have access to primary education, and combating diseases such as HIV/AIDS. By 2008, it had begun to look as if none of these goals would be reached.

Does the fact that the world is unlikely to achieve any of the UN's millennium development goals suggest that international attempts to solve the world's problems are a failure?

International Trade

International trade and economic globalization are often held out as the solution to the world's problems. Many economists and experts in international relations believe that trade improves economic prosperity, contributes to stability and security, and fosters peaceful relations among countries. Policy analysts Gerald P. O'Driscoll Jr. and Sara J. Fitzgerald expressed this idea when they wrote: "Countries that trade with each other are far less likely to confront each other on the battlefield than are countries with no trade relationship."

This view is reflected in the policies of the World Trade Organization, which was established to promote and regulate international trade. The WTO maintains that a world trade system promotes peace by helping to resolve disputes, stimulate economic growth, and reduce inequality. According to the WTO, the system "does reduce some inequalities, giving smaller countries more voice, and . . . freeing the major powers from the complexity of having to negotiate trade agreements with each of their numerous trading partners."

But this view has been challenged. Critics argue that the WTO and international trade place developing countries at a disadvantage.

John Madeley, a professor at the London School of Economics, for example, believes that international trade rules benefit only developed countries. "Under economic globalization, poor countries have liberalized and rich countries have continued to protect. The result has been a flow of cheap, often subsidized, goods to developing countries, which has cost millions of their farmers and industrial workers their jobs," he said. "Free trade cannot be fair to the poor. With no barriers to trade, the poor swim in the same economic stream as the transnational corporations that account for two-thirds of world trade."

146 MILLION CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OLD ARE UNDERWEIGHT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
56 MILLION CHILDREN DIE FROM LACK OF FOOD IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES EVERY YEAR
1 IN 4 CHILDREN IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE UNDERNOURISHED
DANGER DELAYS IN DISASTER AHEAD
MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL
HALVE MALNUTRITION BY 2015 MOTORWAY
APOLOGIES FOR CONSTRUCTION DELAY RE-ROUTING UNDERWAY

Figure 12-17 This cartoon was created for *The Post* of Zambia by Trevor Ford, who was also known as Yuss. What message was Yuss sending about the effectiveness of the UN's millennium development goals? Do you agree with this point of view? Why or why not?

Internationalism and Nation-States

People are divided over the effects of internationalism on the future of nation-states. Some, such as Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize–winning economist who was once a senior vice-president at the World Bank, believe that international trade and financing policies have caused great suffering and reduced the decision-making power of national governments.

Stiglitz is especially critical of the structural adjustment programs of institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In return for loans, these institutions often require the governments of developing countries to introduce changes that may include opening up markets to outside investment and reducing budget deficits by lowering government spending on social programs such as education and health care.

In 2002, Stiglitz told the *New York Times Magazine* that the IMF "undermines the democratic process, because it dictates policies."

Web Connection

To find out more about the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

Is internationalism the only way to address contemporary global issues?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; and Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution.

Rick

I say that individual action is more important than action by nation-states because it can cut through or go around the roadblocks and delays created whenever governments try to do things. Take action on your own — change to energy-saving light bulbs, use less water, drink fair-trade coffee, sign an online petition . . . do anything. The power of one can solve lots of problems if everyone takes personal responsibility.

When it comes to issues like disease, lots of evidence says that internationalism is effective. We need to build on the successes of international groups like the World Health Organization. Developing countries can't do everything on their own — and it's in our interest to make sure that they're peaceful and prosperous. They provide markets for our goods, and if they struggle, our stability and prosperity is affected. So the international community needs to find solutions — and I think it's doing that, even if progress is slow.

Violet

Jane

I don't know. I'm not sure that internationalism is really working, at least the way things are set up now. If I were an optimist, I suppose I'd say that things are improving, even if it's only gradually. But if I were a pessimist, I might say that the developed world is taking advantage of the developing world — and developing countries won't put up with this forever. It's bound to create resentment, and what happens when this resentment boils over?

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Violet, and Jane are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

Decline versus Shift

In his book *Fortune Favors the Bold: What We Must Do to Build a New and Lasting Global Prosperity*, Lester Thurow wrote that the power of individual nation-states to control their own destiny is declining.

> In the 20th century, governments came to think of themselves as economic air traffic controllers controlling the flows of their economies. With globalization this power is disappearing for governments large and small. Governments are still important in the knowledge-based economy, but instead of being air traffic controllers of economic events within their borders, governments are increasingly having to become airport builders constructing runways to attract global economic activity to locate within their borders.

Some people, however, view this change not as a decline in the power of nation-states, but as a sign of a shift that may change the way people view themselves in the world. In a 1997 article in the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, international affairs specialist Jessica Matthews wrote that "a novel redistribution of power among states, markets, and civil society" has taken place.

By "civil society," Matthews means non-government and non-business groups that include non-governmental organizations, community groups, faith-based groups, and universities. In the view of many, civil society helps link citizens, nation-states, and international organizations — and these links provide individuals with unprecedented opportunities to influence policy and events at local, regional, national, and international levels.

Matthews views these changes as a positive development in the history of nation-states. She wrote:

> National governments are not simply losing autonomy in a globalizing economy. They are sharing powers – including political, social, and security roles at the core of sovereignty – with businesses, with international organizations, and with a multitude of citizens' groups . . . The steady concentration of power in the hands of states that began in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia is over, at least for a while . . . International standards of conduct are gradually beginning to override claims of national or regional singularity. Even the most powerful states find the marketplace and international public opinion compelling them more often to follow a particular course.

The unregulated internationalization of capital is now being followed by the internationalization of peoples' movements and organizations. Building peoples' international organizations and solidarity will be our revolution from within: a civil society without borders. This internationalism or "globalization from below" will be the foundation for a participatory and sustainable global village.

— *From* Global Pillage to Global Village, *a joint report of nearly 80 American groups opposed to the North American Free Trade Agreement, 1993*

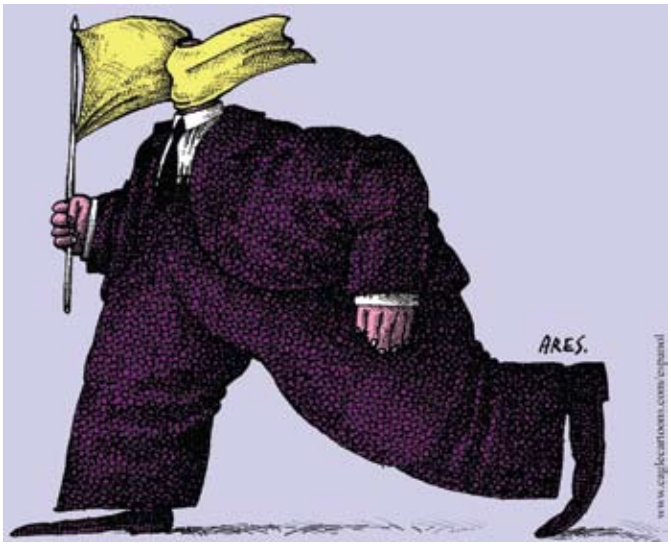


Figure 12-18 This cartoon, titled "Blind Nationalism," was created by the Cuban cartoonist Ares. What message is Ares sending? How do you think Ares might view the decline in the power of the nation-state?

Like Matthews, philosopher and political activist Noam Chomsky believes that individuals have the power to pressure national governments and the international community to find solutions to the world's problems. Chomsky said, "States are not moral agents, people are, and can impose moral standards on powerful institutions."

What do you think? Is what is happening a decline in the power of nation-states or a shift in the way governments operate? Make your own prediction about what might happen as a result. Would the result you predicted be a postive or negative development for the world?

THE VIEW FROM HERE

For many people, the United Nations represents internationalism at work. But will the UN remain a useful tool for dealing with global issues in the 21st century? Here is how three people with a vital interest in the UN have responded to this question.

Gareth Evans is a former Australian politician who has served on the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Committee on the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities. He said the following in a speech to Foreign Affairs Canada in 2005.

> No organization in the world embodies as many dreams, yet delivers as many frustrations, as the United Nations. This year we have seen both abundantly at play. There are plenty who are justifiably now skeptical that the UN and its member states will ever be capable of responding to the challenge of reform . . . But we have no alternative but to keep on trying – all of us.

Srgjan Kerim is the former foreign minister of Macedonia. In 2007, when he was elected president of the United Nations General Assembly, he urged members to form partnerships and make globalization more inclusive.

> It is possible, I believe, to forge a new culture of international relations, by demonstrating the courage to rise above ourselves. The UN needs be at the forefront of building a new culture of international relations based on greater trust and mutual co-operation and fairer economic consensus . . . Achieving this will necessarily tend to further . . . devolve sovereignty, particularly at the individual and international level.

Since 1978, writer and novelist **Shashi Tharoor** has served the UN in a variety of roles. The following is an excerpt from an article published in a 2005 issue of the *New Internationalist*. In it, Tharoor argues that the UN was not created to take humanity to heaven but to save it from hell.

> The UN is not simply a security organization; it is not a sort of NATO for the world. When the present crisis has passed, the world will still be facing (to use Secretary-General Kofi Annan's phrase) innumerable "problems without passports" that cross all frontiers uninvited; weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, certainly, but also the degradation of our common environment, contagious disease and chronic starvation, human rights and human wrongs, mass illiteracy and massive displacement.
>
> These are problems that no one country, however powerful, can solve on its own – as someone once said about water pollution, we all live downstream. They cry out for solutions that, like the problems themselves, cross frontiers.

Explorations

1. In a phrase or single sentence, capture the message of each quotation.
2. Does a common thread run through the words of Gareth Evans, Srgjan Kerim, and Shashi Tharoor? If so, explain what it is. If not, explain the differences.
3. With a partner discuss this statement: If the United Nations did not exist, people would have to invent it.

1. Marhall McLuhan used the phrase "global village" to express his belief that the people of the world were becoming more closely linked than ever. Explain how McLuhan's concept of a global village affects nationalism. Can nationalism continue to exist in a global village? Is the idea of nationalism out of date — or is it more important than ever?

2. Research the relationship between development of the Alberta oil sands and global climate change. Briefly state your position on each of the following aspects of this relationship:

   a) an international environmental issue

   b) Alberta's responsibility to the global community

   c) Canada's response to the growing international movement calling for reductions in greenhouse gas emissions

3. Work with a group of three or four to design and create a poster promoting international action on one of the global issues explored in this chapter (poverty, hunger, disease, debt, climate change, human rights, and conflict) or a global issue of great importance to the group.

   Create a statement that outlines the motivation, aim, and message of the poster. Present your poster to the class.

4. For decades, singer-songwriter and political activist Bob Geldof has been involved in celebrity events designed to raise awareness of and eliminate poverty. During a speech accepting the 2005 Man of Peace award, which was presented in Rome, Geldof said: "We live in a broken world which has never been healthier, wealthier, or freer of conflict, but 500 kilometres south of here, they die of want . . . It's not only intellectually absurd, it's morally repulsive."

   What was Geldof referring to when he said, "500 kilometres south of here"?

   In your own words, explain Geldof's message. In your statement, be sure to note the relationship between Geldof's words and the need for international action on global issues.

5. According to the United Nations' charter, this international organization is responsible for protecting the citizens of the world. But UN rules, which allow any of the five permanent members of the Security Council to veto proposed actions, often interfere with the UN's ability to meet this responsibility.

   Create a cartoon, drawing, or electronic presentation that lampoons — makes fun of — this situation. Remember to use respectful words and images. Stereotypes are unacceptable. Humour should result from the situation, not from the characters in the cartoon.

6. Examine the cartoon on this page and note its title.
   a) What is the artist's message about the state of the world today?
   b) Express your view of this message by writing a caption for the cartoon.
   c) Refer to an issue explored in this chapter and explain how this cartoon sums it up.

Figure 12-19 Our World Today

Think about Your Challenge

Your challenge for this related issue is to participate in a mock international summit on the world water crisis. Review the notes you prepared as you progressed through the chapters of this related issue, then begin preparing your presentation for the conference. Decide what you hope to achieve and how you will go about achieving this goal, then select the material you will present to other delegates and assemble the visual materials you plan to use. As you prepare, you may wish to review this chapter's skill focus: communicating effectively to express a point of view (pp. 286–287).

Think about the arguments, positions, and ideas other delegates are likely to make. Make notes about possible responses.